1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

ever is certainly wrong: he gives it a circular mound, whereas the modern 346
remains show it to have been certainly square, and so the people also say.

PRIESTS

In Matuku it was stated that when a priest died, after a time the spirit 793
entered a man of that clan and that man quaked. The chief then asked 775
the name of the spirit. They then anointed the man in the temple with yellow. Neither the priest nor the man who anointed him could touch food for four days, after which they bathed. The proceedings were compared to those for a manslayer (p. 143), only the priest was not subject to tapu. At this time the women went to fish, but were forbidden to put the fish in their baskets: they lifted the net and those who fed the priest snatched the fish and placed them alive before him. After two days a taro patch was dug about the size of a mat. In this they planted big suckers that they might not die. This was called "making free the earth."

The spirit was said to "jump on a priest," that is, to possess him. He 793
then prophesied. If they wanted to consult the oracle they presented food 787
to the spirit by way of entreaty, addressing him as *mbongimbongi*, that is, dawn. When people were ill an entreaty was made. When they recovered a feast was made with kava. The first cup was poured at the foot of the post, after which the people clapped; the second was drunk by the priest who was said to *rambe*, as a herald does for a chief (p. 61).

A thanksgiving offering made when people had obtained their request was 792
called *i mandrali*.

When they made puddings the first one was taken to the temple; this was called *i singana* (*singana;* to put in the sun). The first of anything thus offered was so called. The term was also used of the bodies of the slain offered at the temple. It is also used of the first pudding taken to the chief.

ANCESTOR GODS

The god (*kalou*) of Navuanirewa, that is of the nobles, had no name. 776
It was not a true god (*kalou ndina*), but an abortion; so it was spoken of as the spirit of the house (*kalau ni vale*), which was nothing but the spirits of the children that died in the house. It was spoken of as child (*ngone*) or Solosolombalavu. Its temple was Salia.

The *kalou* of all Katumbalevu including the nobility was Tokairambe. His temple was called Mauthori. The Mauthori branch of Katumbalevu were the priests. Tokairambe was spoken of as Thingumbob of Mauthori (*ko ka mai Mauthori*), or the god (*tevoro*) of Mauthori.

Tokairambe's body (*tolo*) was a hawk (*taiseni*). A man of Katumbalevu might not kill the hawk, or the god (*tevoro*) would kill him.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

776 Tui Lakemba is the god of Valelailai. Tokairambe was worshipped a little, but Tui Lakemba was greatly worshipped. He was also called Sereivalu because he unfolded war and all things. His temple was Nautuutu. An ancient, vague account relates that long ago soil was deposited there by the Tongans. Tonga and Lakemba are connected lands (*vanua vata*) on that account. This soil was brought for reasons of kinship because they have the same god (*tevoro*); it was not brought for a supplication. Roko Kilai. Taliai's eldest son, was buried on the top of the foundation of the god's temple; the soil from Tonga was underneath.

I could discover no animal belonging to Tui Lakemba; Emosi was positive the god did not enter animals. He does not always reside in Lakemba but may be absent for a year or two at a time visiting various places. He does not kill men like Likuthava.

Tokairambe was a native; Tui Lakemba came from abroad. Until the god *vu* came to Lakemba, Tui Lakemba was the title of the chief. Tui Lakemba came down from heaven; it is not known how, but probably he is Satan. It is because he came down from heaven that the people of Naitombo go to heaven when they die (p. 184), for Tui Lakemba's priest came (*vu*) from Naitombo.

Tui Lakemba was a god (*tevoro*) from Thakaundrove. He sailed from Thakaundrove and landed in Nasangalau at a little spot which lies east of the village and is called Lakemba. Before his coming the whole island was called Natuithake, that is the windward island.[27]

Likuthava belongs to Valelailai. Her house (*vale*) was called Koronivia. She was not embodied in an animal. Emosi says she was called Hurricane Skirt because women used to make skirts to avert hurricanes. Emosi makes her a sister of Tokairambe and says if the oracle was consulted she and not Tokairambe entered the priest.

776 782 If a canoe were about to sail, a feast was promised to Likuthava; upon their return, the voyagers took it to the temple (*mbure kalou*) and offered it up to the priest; they retired and the priest divided among the people of Valelailai the share presented to them; the other clans got none. The priest ate Likuthava's share. Unlike Tui Lakemba, Likuthava easily took offence (*ndau ndindi*); if she did not receive a proper share of a feast she took offence and killed some one.

776 793 If a priest died and he had a younger brother, they would discuss and say to him, "You shall drink the kava." They made kava in the temple (*mbure vakatevoro*), and then they caused to jump, so that Likuthava might enter him. If she entered him he was the priest, if she did not they tried another of the same descent and generation (*kawa vata tautauvata*). If there were an elderly son he might be chosen, but the younger brother went first. When the younger brother died they appointed the son of the elder brother. The kava in question was done in chiefly style (*vakaturanga*) because the priest used to be chief (*turanga*), being respected on account of the god; for gods used to be feared and were chiefs (*turanga*); now the priests are despised. There was a kava song which was lost when the Tongans came in the days of Rasolo.

[27] A Mualevu man told me he had heard the name Natuithake used by the old men of Mualevu.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accom-
226 panied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of
335 hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its
793 ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a
644 hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the
[428 reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to
184] his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

622 Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, were those of the Vatuwangga clan at Lakemba from whom Ului Lakemba was descended (p. 38; table 2). The gods of Mbutonikoro were incarnated in the *thau* tree, the *kanathe* fish, and the *tchilio* bird. The slogan of the clan was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana*, food; *kalou*, god).

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili*, and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sewa matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118).

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the chief group did not possess true totems. They did, however, possess clan ancestor gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena.

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group.

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs:

Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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769 a feast to mark his daughter's nubility. They killed him and his daughter. At this time
● 793 Niumataiwalu was at Vuna, not on Naiau. The chief of Vuna asked Niumataiwalu to
carry a message to Mbau by canoe. He went to Mbau but did not go ashore with the
539 message. At this time Andi ni Levuka, wife of the chief of Mbau, became pregnant by
Niumataiwalu. She begged the chief to be allowed to go to Nairai in order to superintend the making of coconut oil. She landed in Nairai and Niumataiwalu proceeded in his canoe to Totoya, where he heard about the murder of his father and sister. The sons of Nggoma had returned to Lakemba. Niumataiwalu immediately returned to Naiau and became successor to his father. For revenge he went to Navutoka. He was met by his cousins. They fell upon each other and Nggoma and his family were killed. Now Niumataiwalu was by power and birth the successor to Nggoma, but he did not take the title of priest. He was the first *sau*, the chief of Lakemba, and the chief of Naiau.

(For a variant of this tale see Hennings, 12, pp. 33-37.)

769 After the coming of the chiefs' phratry, control was divided between the
793 priests and the chiefs. Each ranking island had a principal priest clan. The title of the priest (*mbete*) descended by primogeniture from father to eldest son in the first-born line of the priest clan. The priests were the seers who directed the spiritual affairs of the group, while the chiefs were the war leaders. After the Tongan conquest and the introduction of Christianity, the power of the chiefs increased and the title of priest became honorary. First fruits were presented to the chief instead of to the priest. The priest of Mothe, who is the headman of Kamali clan, installs the chief of Mothe today. However, on Kambara and on Fulanga, the only islands visited besides Mothe where the island chief presides over more than one village, the chief is installed by the herald.

The priest had charge of the worship of a clan's ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). He was the intermediary for the people and the god. Since he was influential in securing mana from the god, he was feared and respected. He controlled the activities of the people in warfare, in times of famine, and in sickness, receiving offerings from the people and presenting them to the god according to the *sevusevu* ceremonial pattern (pp. 65-66).

[782] Offerings were made by the people to obtain mana which would insure the success of clan activities and avoid trouble. The principal offerings were first fruits, kava, and cooked feasts, including human sacrifices. As a small offering wreaths were presented.

The priest prayed to the god, who presently took possession of him and spoke through him or revealed his will to him by means of a sign or omen. According to Fison (8, pp. 166-167), when a priest was possessed his whole body shook in convulsions and his flesh twitched. After the ceremony the priest and his clan consumed the sacred offerings.

THE GOD HOUSE

769 Each priest had charge of a god house (*mbure kalou*), a sanctuary where
778 the ancestor god was worshipped. It was a hut built on a high mound flanked
346

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 It reinforced the desire for prestige, based on rank, success in
797 warfare and wealth, which gave the culture its definite secular bias. These ancestor gods are still feared by many old Lauans today.

769 The ancestor gods were worshipped in temples—small
346 thatched huts with disproportionately high gabled roofs and
778 oval shaped ground plan. The temples were elevated on stone-
793 flanked mounds surrounded by fragrant plants, for fragrance was associated with sacredness in the minds of the natives. In them were kept sacred objects belonging to the clan, such as elaborately carved ceremonial clubs. A hereditary priest officiated at each temple. He propitiated the gods with offerings such as food, kava, whales' teeth, and human sacrifices, especially the bodies of enemies captured in warfare. All that remain today of these temples are the stone-flanked mounds on which offerings are occasionally made secretly.

776 Most of the gods of the upper class were war gods. Before
726 a raid the priest consulted the war gods regarding the auspici-
793 ousness of an attack, and prayed that "mana" be granted the clan warriors and their weapons. Without the approval of the gods the raid would not be successful. If the god responded, the priest's body began to twitch and shake. As the god entered his body the priest writhed in grotesque contortions. He was bathed in sweat. The movements became more and more violent until finally in a queer shrill voice the god spoke through the priest.

787 Williams gives the following account of this spirit possession.
793 "One who intends to consult the oracle dresses and oils himself and, accompanied by a few others, goes to the priest . . . When the party enters, he (the priest) rises, and sits so that his back is near to the white cloth by which the god visits him, while the others occupy the opposite side of the *mbure* (temple). The principal person presents a whale's tooth, states the purpose of the visit, and expresses a hope that the god will regard him with favor. Sometimes there is placed

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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before the priest a dish of scented oil, with which he anoints himself, and then receives the tooth, regarding it with deep and serious attention. Unbroken silence follows. The priest becomes absorbed in thought, and all eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles; slight distortions are seen in his face, and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague fit. In some instances this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, and veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of *'Koi au! Koi au!'* (It is I! It is I!) fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving the answer the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman. The sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear . . ."[47]

The success of the clan in warfare, its strength, man power, and wealth were derived from the "mana" of its ancestral gods. This clan "mana" was concentrated in the clan "old head" (that is, the first born direct male descendant of the first son of the founder). The high chief of Lau has the most "mana" of any living person. Theoretically the direct descendant of the highest ancestral god, he is considered to be the most sacred living being.

The ancestral gods formed a sort of celestial hierarchy which was reflected in the system of ranked clans in Lauan society. Ndengei (pronounced En-deng-ē'), the great snake god of Viti Levu and mythical originator of the upper class in Lau, stood at the top of the set-up. Tradition says that many generations

[47] Williams and Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

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people was merely called "Tui Na Turuku" (Chief of Na Turuku). For some generations back there had existed a barely concealed rivalry between Galà and Na Turuku; but although Galà considered themselves the more chiefly people, Na Turuku had one great point in their favour—*the hereditary priest had to come from a certain family in their tribe*, and the priest-caste dealt in magic and other awe-inspiring matters!

So it came about that Ratu Mudu (lit., "cut off suddenly," a most prophetic name, had his parents only known it) was one day stricken ill with some mysterious complaint, and told his relatives that he knew he was doomed to die. Now, this was a most serious matter, as only one generation earlier it would have meant a large strangling of widows and other savage ceremonies for the death of so great a chief; and even now it was a matter that would convulse the whole island. And to make matters worse the Ravunisa said that he was convinced he had been bewitched (*vakadraudrau'd*).

The next day a message was sent to the Magistrate that the Ravunisa was dead! The Magistrate hastened to the house, where all the mourners were assembled, and a crowd outside, and he found the Ravunisa laid out in state, but still convulsively moving under the funeral cloth! In the eyes of the people, according to ancient

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Mavana, and 'tis only fished about once in three years."

"Tell me all about it," I said, scenting a good tale.

Then Rusiate turned to me and began.

"My mother is of Mavana town, so that I count with Vanua Balavu, and, indeed, have only lately come back here to live at Doi, my father's land. And I am of the *mataqali* (tribe) that catch the sacred fish. And the catching of it is thus. When it appears to the priest (that is, of course, to the descendant of the old priests, for there are no heathen priests to-day," he added, hastily) "that the time has arrived for the fishing, he goes to inform Tui Mavana, who is the great chief of all the northern half of Vanua Balavu, the long island. And Tui Mavana gathers together his people, and they take their canoes and work round the coast till they arrive at the deep bay of Masomo. There they disembark, and climb up the sloping hill-side, through the woods, till they come to the marsh of the *yawa*. Then a *buré bolabola* (rough arbour or shelter) is put up at the edge of the swamp and the priest retires inside it. The priest to-day is Juta, the son of Eroni." (I was quietly amused at this naïve confession.) "Then *Yaqona* is made, with much ancient ceremony; and after that a *lovo* (oven of heated stones) of food is prepared, and a

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*539 776 823 a throwing of spears. They threw towards a spot where Na Malata faces this island, and which was then all one land with us; and they decided that the one who threw the best spear should be acknowledged chief for all time. Three times did they each essay, and on the third cast Dau Cina made such a mighty spearing that he cleft the neck of land in twain. And thus did Na Malata become an island.

*539 776 "This, perhaps, is but a tale of our forefathers, and may not be altogether a true thing; but of what befell Aca, the half-caste, there can be no doubt, for is he not here in the village amongst us to this day, and ready to tell with his own lips the happenings that came to him? This is the story as he told it to us that day when he came running back along the white beaches, trembling like a startled horse, and his eyes wide open with the horror of what he had seen. He was but a lad at the time, nearly thirty years ago, but I remember well his words. He had been to Futuna with Tui Qara, Lilo, and Seremaia, to visit the coco-nut groves of Lilo; and on the way a black and white sea-snake crossed their path, as they sometimes do where the road girts the sea marge.

"Now, Tui Qara, in a fit of wantonness stabbed at it with his spear and wounded it. And as he struck he felt a strange pang dart up his arm, and [793] fear entered his heart. 'Fool that I am,' said

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he, 'to strike the serpent of Dau Cina; I, who am the *bété*[1] of the god as my fathers have been before me. Some evil will surely come of this.' 539* 776 [793]

"However, they went their way, and before long the matter was forgotten. And so they reached Futuna; and after their evening meal they went to sleep in the *volau*[2] that Lilo had built to store his copra in. And in the middle of the night they heard a great *Kumete*[3] that lay outside roll over of its own accord, for no one was to be seen; and then they heard strange moanings, and the lips of Tui Qara spoke, but the voice was not the voice of Tui Qara; and the words were these: 'I, Dau Cina, who speak, am about to slay you, Tui Qara! My priest are you, yet you have flaunted me. Death shall be your food.' Then Tui Qara groped about and snatched up a big flaming brand from the fire, and started crunching it between his teeth, and biting off great chunks of it, his eyes rolling round in a manner horrible to see.

"He then called out for a bowl of sea-water to quench his thirst, but Aca was filled with a great fear and ran away. Tui Qara lay for two months in the village of Mavana, sick nigh unto death; but at last his health returned and he lived for some years afterwards. But he never spoke again of the doings of that night at Futuna."

[1] Priest. [2] Rough palm-leaf shelter. [3] Wooden trough.

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*539 776 Ulumatua was well content with this place, and chose for his home a cave on the hill-top looking over the plain where now stands Loma Loma town.

"No one alive to-day has seen Ulumatua himself, but his priests used to say that he was of immense size, truly a god indeed; and once, as a small child, while rambling on the hill-top in the twilight, I saw his family of little serpents, ten in number, disappearing into his home, bearing with them a *solevu* of *yau*.[1] My parents thought I lied about this thing," she added, smiling; "but I verily believed at the time that I saw the gifts they carried. Who knows? To-day we see the marvels which you white chiefs have brought—the box that talks, and the big steamships—truly as wonderful as the thing I saw.

"Ulumatua was not only a serpent of a size fearsome to see, but he was unlike all others inasmuch as his tail was rounded and ended bluntly (like the tail of Misi Bamani's white dog). So [793] at least was he described by Moto Loki Loki of the Lewega tribe, who was the hereditary priest when I was a child. It was Moto's duty to enter the cave at certain seasons of the year with offerings, and to anoint Ulumatua with scented oils, rubbing him with them as a chief is rubbed

[1] A ceremonial presentation of gifts.

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before taking part in a war-dance,[1] And Moto would act as mediator between the god and the people, who if they had a sick child would *soro*[2] to Ulumatua and take gifts, when the child would live.

"And Gala, which is the chiefly tribe here, is *tauvu*[3] to Boma on Taveuni Island, and thus we think that Ulumatua must have come here from that part. To this day the *cavu*[4] of the Gala tribe is '*Ulumatua*'; and our young men, when they go forth to the Tiqa match, cry out '*Ulumatua*,' to speed their spears along the chosen ground. And this you may have heard, sir, even at the great missionary meeting last week. Of course, the god can give them no assistance now, for the light has come amongst us and we no longer give credit to such foolish tales."

I replied that we all knew that Adi Letila was too enlightened to believe in such things nowadays, but as I walked away under the great avenue of mango trees I wondered!

[1] Only recently I found Inia, my native sergeant of police, oiling two snakes which he had captured. I asked him why he did it and he replied that he thought they liked it, and he intended to treat them well and make pets of them; though I am convinced there was no idea of snake worship in his mind.
[2] Ask forgiveness for any faults.
[3] Of common origin.
[4] Battle-cry.